

# Jugoslav Communist Bares Stalin's Anti-Bolshevik Terror

(Continued from Page 1)  
consultate on the subject of my passport, without giving me any kind of document to confirm the confiscation of this material.

## The Concentration Camps

### 2. On the concentration camps.

The new and most frightful scourge for those who are persecuted politically in Russia is the concentration camp. There are many concentration camps in Russia, in every region and of varying importance. The new Pharaohs (jailers—Ed.) in these places "educate" hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants and tens of thousands of criminals, receiving in exchange gratuitous labor. The peasant women and female criminals who are among them are sentenced to "serve" the men and are placed in the condition of practically forced prostitution.

The political prisoners are sent, to my knowledge, into four camps: Ukht-Pecherski (Zyryan), Marinski (Central Siberia), Karagandinski (coal mines of Kazakhstan) and the Solovietzki Islands. In the month of December 1934, a new hunger strike broke out in the penitentiary of Verkhni-Uralsk. The prisoners demanded that an end be made of these "additional" sentences of imprisonment, and the immediate release of men arbitrarily held in this way (that is to say, two-thirds of the prisoners). The hunger strike was stopped on the thirteenth day by the dispersal of the comrades to various penitentiaries, concentration camps, and by forced feeding. Nearly 30 comrades were then sent to the concentration camps: most of them, headed by the strike committee (Theodor Dingelstedt, Joseph Krashin, Sasha Slitinski) were sent to the Solovietzki Islands. Some of them, Lado Yenoukidze, nephew of the famous ex-secretary of the C.E.C., M. Bielov, G. Bolko, etc., to the Ukht-Pecherski camp. In the summer of 1935, almost the whole Bolshevik-Leninist colony of Central Asia (Samarkand, Chemkent, Alma-Ata, Akmolinsk, Aktoubsk, Pavlodar, etc.) were in the major part sent to the concentration camps for a five-year period. Aside from the Bolshevik-Leninists, a considerable section of anarchists, some Zionists, and a few Social Revolutionaries and social democrats are to be found in the concentration camps. The political prisoners are subject to the regular camp regime, they must live and work with the criminals. The criminals are incited against the "politicians." Tens of comrades have endured long hunger strikes, demanding the substitution of the penitentiary for the concentration camp [Vladimir Smirnov, Jr. and S. Shlip-

ski, both of the "Democratic Centralism" group (the Sapronovists), did a 35-day hunger strike for this modest demand]. Several dozen others have conducted hunger strikes for establishing a regime for political prisoners in the camps. In the struggle for this demand fatal accidents occurred in the Marinski camp (among the anarchists). A group of prisoners in the Solovki and certain individuals in the Ukht-Pecherski and Marinski camps have succeeded in obtaining a partial regime for political prisoners, but a large majority of the prisoners, principally in the Marinski and Karagandinski camps, are under the regular regime. In the Marinski camp, during summer, a group of prisoners (among them the anarchist Sandemisky) was forced to walk, or rather to run, to their jobs in the fields, which were at a distance of ten kilometers from their quarters, where they worked until late into the night.

Upon expiration of his sentence in the summer of 1935, Dingelstedt was removed from the Solovki and exiled to Alma-Ata, S. Kraskin to Turukhansk. It is necessary at all costs to secure the liberation of political prisoners from the concentration camps and to put a stop to the practice of sending them there.

## Life in the Penitentiaries

### 3. Some remarks on the penitentiaries and exile.

In the solitary confinement cells of the penitentiary of Verkhni-Uralsk is to be found at the present time the principal part of the Zinovievists (Zinoviev, Kamenev, Kukline, Zalutski and also Smilga), also the well-known leaders of the Workers' Opposition, Shliapnikov (ill and deaf), and Medvedev, the leader of the "Democratic Centralism" group, who directed the insurrection of October 1917 at Moscow, former secretary of the C.E.C., at the time of Lenin, the old worker-Bolshevik Timophee Sapronov (he is seriously ill and unless the European proletariat releases him from the penitentiary he will not survive his five-year term).

The Zinovievists behave generally in a capitulatory fashion but in varying degrees and ways. Zinoviev is busy principally with questions of Fascism (he brought a load of books on Fascism and with the history of the Russian situation. Kamenev is 98.5 percent in agreement with the general line. Some think that everything is over and that it will be necessary to begin all over again. Kamenev has received as the outcome of a new trial a sentence which runs to ten years. The second trial was based on the charges of a plot against "himself" (that is to say, Stalin). The principal hero of the accusation was Kamenev's own brother,

## Who Are the Exiled Revolutionists In Jails and Concentration Camps?

IN HIS letter, Dr. Anton Ciliga mentions by name scores of men and women jailed and exiled and tortured by Stalin and his henchmen. Many of those mentioned by comrade Ciliga have been languishing in Stalinist dungeons for years: thus among the prisoners mentioned by him are to be found many of those listed in the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition (No. 19, March 1930) among the Bolshevik-Leninists are: **Dorochenko, Victor Kravyn** (driven to insanity), **Langer, Papermeister Pavel, S. Slitinski** and others; among the "Democratic Centralists" are: **Davidov, Essayan, Smirnov** and others. These men have been incarcerated since 1929-1930, that is, for over six years.

Stalin persecutes not only his political opponents but their next of kin. Comrade Ciliga's references to wives, sisters, children, etc. of the prisoners denote this clearly enough. The persecution of Trotsky's son is not an exception but the rule.

Here are the records of a few of Stalin's victims: **L. B. KAMENEV**: One of the closest collaborators of Lenin. Member of the party since 1901. First arrested in a student demonstration in 1902. Worked in the Moscow Bolshevik organization. Participated in the Third and the London Congresses of the party. During the 1905 revolution worked in Petrograd up to 1908 when he was again arrested. After arrest he escaped abroad and collaborated closely with Lenin and Zinoviev. In 1913 he was ordered by the C.E.C. to Petrograd. Arrested in 1914 and exiled to Siberia. Member of the C.E.C.; Chairman of the All-Russian C.E.C.; Chairman of the Moscow Soviet (1918-1926), etc., etc.

**G. ZINOVIEV**: One of the closest collaborators of Lenin. Member of the party since 1901. Organized a Bolshevik group in Bern. In 1905 came to Petrograd where he worked in the Bolshevik faction. Participated in the London Party Congress where he was elected member of the C.E.C. on which he remained until Stalin came along. Arrested in 1908; after his arrest went abroad to collaborate most closely with Lenin (Zimmerwald; Kienthal). Returned to Russia in April, 1917 together with Lenin; after the July days went into hiding. Chairman of the Petersburg Soviet; Chairman of the Executive Committee Communist International, etc.

**THEODOR N. DINGELSTEDT**: Member of the Bolshevik party since 1910; member of the Petrograd Committee of the party during the February period of the Russian Revolution; active participant in the October Revolution. From 1923 one of the leaders

of the Left Opposition in Leningrad. Arrested at the end of 1927.

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**MOUSSIA MAGID**: Member of the Bolshevik party since 1917. When Denikin's hoards raged over the Ukraine she worked in the Bolshevik underground movement. Jailed for supporting the Left Opposition.

**S. P. MEDVEDIEV**: Metal worker. Member of the party since 1901 (Iskrovitz); Bolshevik since 1908. Served several sentences in jail and exile under the Czar. Participant of the October Revolution. Member of All-Russian C.E.C. since October, 1917; in 1920 Chairman of the All-Russian Trade Union of Metal Workers. Supporter of the "Workers' Opposition."

**I. T. SMILGA**: Peasant by birth; member of the Bolshevik party since 1907; twice in exile under the Czar; elected member of the C.E.C. in 1917; active participant in the civil war; member of the Revolutionary War Soviet; member of the Supreme Economic Council in 1921, etc., Jailed by Stalin in 1927.

**V. M. SMIRNOV**: Old Bolshevik; after February Revolution worked in Moscow as one of the editors of the Bolshevik paper there; active participant in the October Revolution; member of the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Moscow Soviet in October; participated in the street battles in Moscow; served in the civil war as member of the Revolutionary War Committee; in active service with the army that fought the Czechoslovak divisions and Kolchak, etc. Under Stalin's lock and key since 1927.

**SHLYAPNIKOV**: Communist; during the imperialist war worked in Petersburg and abroad under the direction of the C.E.C. establishing contacts for the center. People's Commissar of Labor after the October Revolution. Leader of the so-called "Workers' Opposition."

**VOYA VUKOVICH**: Erstwhile Secretary of the Young Communist International. Exiled for his support of the Zinoviev group.

Then there are countless others, not named by Dr. Ciliga, languishing in Stalin's Thermidorian jails. Among them, for example, is **Victor Serge**, writer and historian of the Russian Revolution, exiled not for his activities, but merely for his sympathies with Trotsky and the Bolshevik-Leninists.

**Assassination and physical extermination**: **Blumkin**, murdered in cold blood by the G.P.U.; **Butor**, driven by the G.P.U. torture to "suicide"; **Kote Zingadze**, denied medical attention, exiled to unbearable climate, died.

the painter Rosenfeld. There were 36 indicted, a mixed and very suspicious collection. The result was two executions (a member of the G.P.U., whose name I do not recall exactly, either Chervakov or Cherenodski, and the second, a member of the Kremlin Guard). The rest were condemned to 5 to 10 years, half were transported to Verkhni-Uralsk (most of them courtiers of the Kremlin). Kamenev denied categorically that he knew anything about this affair and insisted that he saw the principal accused individuals for the first time in his life during the trial. His brother announced during the trial that thanks to his last minute arrest,

the "catastrophe" was barely averted. This famous brother was sent to another place. He is not to be found at Verkhni-Uralsk. For his categorical refusal to know anything about this affair, Kamenev received not only an increase of about ten years, but was sent to a common cell (No. 57, third tier, north aisle of the penitentiary, with 12 men in a large cell). I may also mention the S. R., Volkstein who was scientific collaborator at the Military Academy. She spent five years in the secret part of the penitentiary of Yaroslavl before coming to Verkhni-Uralsk. There she partly lost her power of speech. In the penitentiary of Ver-

khni-Uralsk are also to be found twenty men of the Right Opposition (Slepkov, Astrov, etc. Riutin was there before, I do not know if he still is). Finally, some anarchists (Barmach), S.R.'s, Zionists, social democrats, and 40 to 50 Bolshevik-Leninists.

can only lead the Finnish people into the abyss. Only the Finnish proletariat, by its revolution, can create a vigorous life for the Finnish people—within the borders of a Soviet Europe.

The policy of the London Bureau and of the S.A.P. in their approach to the N.A.P. has not been able to prevent the latter from becoming one of the most degenerate reformist parties in the Scandinavias—serving as it does, the interests of the most extreme Finnish nationalism. It must be clear to everyone by now, that collaboration with reformist leaders who take the road to a nationalistic "Autarchy" policy in their own country, can only mean participation in their treachery. In the Scandinavias, also, the recuperation of the labor movement leads toward the building of sections of the Fourth International.

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## Who People the Solitaries?

In all, some 200 prisoners. In the penitentiaries of Chelabinsk, Yaroslavl and Soudal are to be found other groups of political prisoners of all currents. At Soudal the second leader of the "Dem-

ocratic Centralists," V. M. Smirnov, is to be found. He served his five years at Soudal in 1935; he was at liberty for half a month at Oulala (Oirat Tour) and at the present time he has been imprisoned for another five year term at Soudal. Voya Voyovitch, former secretary of the Y.C.I., is also to be found there. His wife, Budzinskaja, is at Verkhni-Uralsk (with the sister of Unschlicht). Taking advantage of the change that has taken place in the prisoner personnel, the administration has again worsened the legal conditions and the rations of the prisoners. Famine rations have again been introduced, particularly in the penitentiaries of Yaroslavl and Verkhni-Uralsk. With the decrease in construction during the second Five Year Plan, unemployment has become a daily phenomenon in exile. At Yeniseisk, where I spent my last year, half of the exiles literally starved to death. The children of a new arrival to the concentration camp, M. Belov, became ill because of malnutrition and died of hunger before the eyes of all. The same news arrives from Minussinsk, in Central Asia, from the Naryn Province of Archangele. At Minussinsk, there are, at the present time, Kossior, Moussia Magid, Dorochenko, Yakoubson, the social democrat, etc. At Yeniseisk: Papermeister Pavel, Balmonchov, Grail, Doubenbaum, Kolomenko; the Viennese V. Lang-er (he is systematically deprived of work); the S.R.'s, Teodor Isaievitch Tserberbaum, Marc Levine, Eva V. Losman, the left S.R.'s, the brother and sister Louissin, the Zionists, Bernstein and Kogan; the sister of Medvedev and a large number of Leningradists.

In the spring of 1935, Siberia was filled up with Leningradists. They were transported there in entire trainloads, whole families with children, wives, parents, etc. Many of them have been sent into places which are all the way north: Obdorsk, Doudlino, Vorilsk, Turakhsansk, Verkhnelarsk. Several tens of thousands of comrades were exiled from Leningrad. A group of women, the sister of Zinoviev, the widow of Chatski (who was shot), the sister of Kuklin, etc., are to be found in exile at Vorogod (between Yeniseisk and Turakhsansk). The situation of the major part of the Leningradists is tragic. The Zinovievist functionaries haven't a very noble bearing, and deport themselves without dignity. The workers' section keeps its mouth closed, makes no requests, tells no lies to the G.P.U., doesn't fall on its knees ten times a day in order to be pardoned.

At Yeniseisk a group of Oppositionists was arrested during the summer (the Democratic Centralists Davidov and Bolko, the Bolshevik-Leninist Maksimov) and two groups of Zinovievists. The Oppositionists are accused of having en-

deavored to "sway" the Zinovievists. In the course of the affair it was shown that the G.P.U. persuaded and tried to force the Zinovievists to bear witness that the "oppositionists" had "swayed" them. The Zinovievists sent a general statement about this affair to the prosecuting attorney of the U.S.S.R. It was also discovered that the local G.P.U. was acting in a provocative way on instructions from Moscow. At present the whole group has been in prison for three months, the hearing is over and a decision is awaited from Moscow.

To compel Moscow to provide work for the exiles, to eliminate the famine rations in the penitentiaries, to release political prisoners from the concentration camps, to release from exile and from dungeons and to allow the Jugoslav comrades Deditch, Dragutich and Haeblering to return abroad—these tasks leave me no peace. I think of them day and night. And I am ready to do everything in my power to relieve the fate of the hundreds of comrades with whom I spent five and a half years in prison and exile and with whose terrible situation I am so well and so directly acquainted. I think something can be achieved by the pressure of the European workers and of the democratic movement.

4. On political life in the solitaries, penitentiaries and in exile. There remains too little time to enable me to describe this aspect of the situation as it warrants. It will be necessary to do it separately and a little later, in a week or two. I may say, in a few words, that at Verkhni-Uralsk the political life was very intense, a host of articles used to appear on all questions of social life in the U.S.S.R. and also on the principal question of international politics during the period 1930-33: Fascism, Germany. A series of papers appeared (written by hand), issued by all the groups, sub-groups and currents. Great discussions were held. In 1931-32, the Bolshevik-Leninist group underwent splits and lived in organizational chaos. In 1933-34 a rapprochement in opinions was reached anew and a single B.L. collective was set up with a single paper. Several (about ten) Bolshevik-Leninists went over to the Democratic Centralists. Conflicts and splits also took place among the Democratic Centralists and among the partisans of Myasnikov, but in 1933-34 there was also a rapprochement and a "federation of left communists" was created. The views of the Bolshevik-Leninists in the penitentiaries were oriented in the same direction as those of the Opposition abroad and of comrade L. D. Trotsky.

With fraternal greetings,  
**A. CILIGA.**

## Hangmen of Finnish Workers Pay Homage to Scandinavian 'Socialists' -- and they Reciprocate

By A. J.

OSLO, Norway.—On December 8 to 10, the annual conference of the "Scandinavian Internationale" met in Helsingfors, Finland. This outfit originated as an alliance of the Swedish, Danish and Finnish social democrats. But, for more than a year, the Norwegian Labor party has also been participating in it.

The extremely reactionary character of this "internationale" was especially emphasized this year by the fact that the conference was welcomed not only by the Finnish social democracy, but also by the official host, the Finnish government. The latter invited their "colleagues, the messrs ministers of state," to dinner and placed the national broadcasting system at their disposal.

**Glance Into Finland's History**  
In order to make clear to the reader the full significance of this behavior on the part of the Scandinavian social democrats, it is necessary to digress for a moment into the post-war history of Finland.

During the war, the Social Democratic party of Finland grew into the strongest party in the country. It captured an absolute majority in the national elections of 1916. Thereupon parliament was not convened. The February revolution in Russia unleashed also the revolutionary energies of the Finnish proletariat. But the "great" social democracy proved to be a Centrist conglomeration, unequal to the tasks before it.

### Social Democracy Misses Chance

This party completely missed the most favorable moment for insurrection in November, 1917, immediately following the victorious uprising in Petrograd. It thus permitted the Finnish bourgeoisie to organize the counter-revolution with the aid of the Russian general Mannerheim and the troops of the Hohenzollerns. Only after a long period of vacillation, and amidst open sabotage from its Right wing, the social democracy also prepared for a struggle. In Southern Finland the uprising took place despite, rather than because of the Social Democratic party, which

still trusted in its strong position in parliament.

The governmental activity of the Finnish social democrats consisted of a type of passivity and indolence which is unparalleled in history. While the counter-revolution armed and organized itself openly and entirely unhampered, within the very boundaries of the "Red" South, no one even thought of taking up the offensive against the White North. In this manner the victory of the Finnish White troops, and of their allies: the Romanoffs and the Hohenzollerns, was guaranteed in advance.

### The White Terror

The White Terror of the victors ranks high at the top of the list in the history of counter-revolutions throughout the ages. Take into consideration the numerically weak population of Finland—3,402,000—and you will grasp the full weight of the following figures: Toward the end of the civil war, 90,000 workers were incarcerated in the concentration camps and jails; 16,000 workers were executed outright. In the course of four months 75,200 sentences were meted out by the Special Tribunals. The prisoners, women and children among them, were subjected to the most hair-raising atrocities by the White Finnish bands and by the White Russian and German mercenaries. 90,000 workers in the jails! At that, the statistics for all of Finland, taking in the whole year 1917, show a figure of altogether 83,000 industrial workers. In 1919 and 1920 the Finnish government had to resort to broad amnesty measures for no other reason save that otherwise the Finnish capitalists could find no labor power on the market! And yet, the wounds inflicted during the Finnish civil war have endured till this very day. Year after year finds the government exerting the sharpest form of repression against the labor movement—dissolution of organizations, arrests, workhouse sentences, etc. The statistics for the year 1932 show that 350 revolutionary workers were convicted to 900 years' imprisonment in that period alone. In many cases, the penalty for par-

ticipation in the revolutionary movement amounted to as much as fifteen years imprisonment.

### Stool-Pigeon Activity

The "legal" social democracy in this country is like a dog with his tail between his legs. Somewhat in the same position as the Hungarian social democracy, which also "enjoys" Horthy's legality. And it behaves accordingly. It denounces its own radical members to the police and takes care to see that they are "brought to justice." It helps the government disband the trades unions whenever the latter are in the hands of a revolutionary majority and organizes new, yellow unions. In the winter of 1933 this party sunk so low as to propose in parliament that the Fascist defense organizations— which did the hangman's bloody work for the counter-revolution of 1918—be incorporated as a reserve army in the military apparatus.

After all this, it is clear enough that the Finnish social democrats did not invite the social democratic representatives of the neighboring countries as a demonstration against the Finnish government, but on the contrary, as a service to it. The Finnish bourgeoisie is well aware of the dangers attendant on a new world war, insofar as it is concerned. For a long time it flirted with the German-Polish anti-Soviet alliance. Of late, it is more attracted by the neutral Scandinavian position. Alliance with the rest of the Scandinavian countries (and with England) appears to be a way out for the difficult position of its Foreign Office. That is why the reactionary Finnish government took into its own bosom the international carnival rigged up by its social democratic errand boy.

works in this Finland of the Lappo terror. But Norwegian "Labor Premier" Nygaardsvold's address was even more remarkable, for he showed the awkward zeal of the parvenue. His speech grew into a veritable eulogy of the Finnish nationalists. He even went so far as to give vent to his sympathetic understanding for the suppression of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland.

Among other things, he said: "I understand the Finnish people from the viewpoint, that every people can only become great and strong when and if it builds on its own foundations and upon its own free culture."

The "Arbeiderbladet" of Oslo defends these noteworthy sentiments with the even more remarkable contention that they contain an "old socialist truism, which no socialist can contradict." If the noble Nygaardsvold had expressed these views at the time of Finland's oppression under Czarism, they might not have been an "old socialist truism" but at any rate, a petty bourgeois viewpoint of relatively progressive character. But the editorial writers of the N.A.P. overlook the fact that what may have been relatively progressive in 1916 is ultra-reactionary in 1936.

The Finnish bourgeoisie has the years 1918 behind it. That year transformed it into an extremely counter-revolutionary factor. Aside from that, the N.A.P. politicians, so belatedly solicitous about the national renaissance of Finland, have simply forgotten that the Finnish bourgeoisie has ceased to be an oppressed, and has become an oppressing bourgeoisie. It indulges in this oppression—like the Czech bourgeoisie—out of vengeance for the centuries of its own suffering—with particular intensity. Moreover, Finland cannot become "great and strong" any more "on its own foundations." Finnish nationalism

### Eulogy for Butchers

As is usual on such occasions, there is a great deal of speech-making. The orations of Swedish Prime Minister Per Albin Hansson and his Danish colleague Stauning about the attributes of the peaceful government form of democracy were remarkable enough as they resounded over the net-

workings in this Finland of the Lappo terror. But Norwegian "Labor Premier" Nygaardsvold's address was even more remarkable, for he showed the awkward zeal of the parvenue. His speech grew into a veritable eulogy of the Finnish nationalists. He even went so far as to give vent to his sympathetic understanding for the suppression of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland.

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\*Lappo is the terrorist organization of the Finnish Fascists, given a free hand by the "democratic" government.

\*\*Official organ of the N.A.P.

## NEWS FROM NORWAY

### 1. The N.A.P. and the S.A.P. International.

The Plenum of the National Committee of the Norwegian Labor Party (N.A.P.) was held in Oslo Nov. 16-18. At this session a communication from the International Bureau for Revolutionary Socialist Unity (formerly known as the I.A.G. or the London-Amsterdam Bureau) came up for discussion, among other things. The communication requests the N.A.P. for information whether the N.A.P. shall continue to be regarded as a member of this bureau or not. (This, it appears, is the manner in which this bureau handles questions of international policy.) The N.A.P., which has not up to the present been disturbed by the Bureau in its evolution toward the Scandinavian type of purely reformist parties, finally felt the time had come to give up this somewhat compromising relationship.

In doing so, the N.A.P. showed that they, at any rate, take their reformist principles much more seriously than this famous Bureau takes its revolutionary shingle. The National Committee adopted the following resolution on this question (Arbeiderbladet, Nov. 18, 1935):

"When the Norwegian Labor party began its collaboration with the independent labor parties, it did so with the object of advancing the unification of the international labor movement into a single international. The party has repeatedly declared that this is the prerequisite for its participation in the Collaboration Committee which has been set up. Of late, this Collaboration Committee has developed

### 2. "Mot Dag" (Norway) and the Sanctions Question.

The "Mot Dag" organization is affiliated to the London Bureau (S.A.P. Bureau) as a sympathizing organization. Its representative, Orslog, attended its Paris conference this year as well as its London sessions. This organization is also, as a matter of fact, represented in the Secretariat of the Stockholm Youth Bureau. In association with this outfit, the S.A.P. decided to expel the representative of the International Communist League from the Stockholm Youth Bureau. In the Nov. 9 issue of their paper, these allies of the S.A.P. take a position on the sanctions question. One quotation suffices in order to prove that the views of this organization are in no respect different from the social-patriotism of the Second and Third Internationals:

"Some revolutionary groups attack the sanctions policy because they believe that it will lead to war with Italy and to collaboration with the bourgeois-radical parties (the reference is to France—Tr.). This position causes these groups to adopt the same point of view as the Fascists, against their own will, and to commit the same mistakes as the Comintern did in its worst ultra-left period. . . . In a certain phase of this development the League of Nations can become an instrument in the interests of the working class and of peace."

It is interesting to note, also, that today this group is trying to join the N.A.P., declaring that it is in no case a political group with a distinct platform, but a "Trade Union of Intellectuals" (sic). It is obvious: opportunism knows no limits. . . .

## NEW MILITANT

with which is merged THE MILITANT

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